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NOTES AND DISCUSSION.

ANGLO-JUDAICA.

Three Centuries of the Hagin Family.

PROF. KAUFMANN'S discovery of a Hebrew colophon containing a long pedigree of a member of the Hagin family, as I called them in the somewhat elaborate genealogy I gave of them in my lecture on *The London Jewry*, is very interesting, more interesting even than Prof. Kaufmann is in a position to know. It is true that at first sight it seems only to add a number of names of English Jews to the many thousands already known from the Records. But these names, as we shall see, are very early ones, and connect the Hagin family with the important German line of R. Simeon the Great (*i.e.* the early). Its chief interest to me, however, is that it affords material for certain hypotheses relating to the connection between the German and English Jews of the twelfth century which will serve to explain many points in the early history of English Jews.

But first let us have before us in English the notice to which I refer :—

This calendar was composed by, (1.) Moses, son of (2.) the *Nadib** R. Jacob son of (3.) Rabenu Moses of London, son of (4.) the Rav Rabenu Yomtob who composed *Sepher Tanaim*, son of (5.) the *Nadib* Moses of Briston, son of (6.) R. Isaac ben (7.) R. Simeon, brother of R. Abraham ben R. Simeon, sister's son of (8.) R. Simeon, and he was the son of (9.) R. Joseph, son of (10.) R. Simeon the Great, who rests in the graveyard at Mayence.

Here we have ten generations filling up the three centuries 1000—1300—and seven of these were English, as I shall proceed to show.

1. Moses ben Jacob the calendar maker, was an Oxford Jew, who is mentioned in 1279, the very year when the Calendar begins, as having bought a tenement in Oxford from Philip Stowell (*Rot. Hundred*, ii. 792 *ap.* Neubauer *Jews in Oxford*, p. 306). This was probably in the parish of St. Aldate, for when the Jews of England were expelled in 1290, the house of Moss fil Jacob in that parish was given by the King to the Provost of Wells (*Rot. Orig.* 75, cf. Neubauer *l.c.*

* On *Nadib* (= Mæcenas) see Zunz, *Ges. Schr.* iii.

312). This shows that Moses was still living at Oxford at the time of the expulsion.

2. Jacob ben Rabbenu Moses was also in the latter years of his life an Oxford Jew. Deeds relating to him are contained in Dr. Neubauer's admirable catena of documents of the Jews of Oxford in the *Collectanea* II., of the Oxford Historical Society (Nos. xlix., li., liv., lvi., lix., lx.^m, n, °, lxiv.^e, lxvi.). From these it appears that Jacob built for himself a beautiful hall (*pulcrum aulam*) in St. Aldate's, out of materials carried into the city from a house of Walter Long's, which fell into Jacob's hand as an unredeemed pledge (lx^e). Can this be the "Jacob's Hall" mentioned in Oxford tradition (Anthony à Wood)? It was probably the very house vacated by his son Moses in the same parish, for Jacob did not live to see the expulsion, dying about the year 1285 (lxiv^e). One of the deeds (liv.) shows that Merton College was built on ground bought from our Jacob and his brother Cresse, (cf. xlix., li.) the father of the Hagin fil Deulacret le Evesk to whom Dr. Neubauer attributed the Hebrew translation of the *Image du Monde*. Attached to this important deed there is or was Jacob's seal, which, as it is almost the only extant one of an English Jew of the pre-expulsion period, we may give here from Tovey, p. 183.

As Tovey somewhat quaintly remarks, "the graven image on this seal can't be thought a breach of the Second Commandment, for it is the likeness of nothing that is in heaven, earth or water." Its technical name is a wyvern rampant. Attached to this deed, the title deed of Merton as it might be called, is a Hebrew Shetar, which, as it gives the name of Jacob's wife and Moses' mother, may be repeated here.



אני יעקב בן רב משה דלונדרש מודה כל שכתוב למעלה בלשון למין בל
 ממחק והנה הודיתי בעבורי ובעבור יורשי שיהיה שריר וקיים וגם בעבור
 אשתי הודיתי שיהיה שריר וקיים ומה שהודיתי כתבתי והתמתי בעבורי
 ובעבור אשתי חנה :

Jacob thus married Anna (*Lat.* Henna), who may possibly have been his niece Henna, the daughter of the great Elyas le Evesk, who certainly married a Jacob.

3. R. Moses ben Yomtob of London is probably, as I have endeavoured to show (*JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, I., 182), the author of the *רכי הנקור* still attached to all the Rabbinic Bibles as the authoritative treatise on Hebrew accentuation. He would also be the author of some notes on Joseph Kimchi's *ס' הזכרון* and was certainly the master of Moses ben Isaac, who quotes him as such in

his *ד' השהם* (p. 37, ed. Collins). In the English records his sons are always called "fil Magistri Mosse," which seems to show he was a doctor as well as a grammarian.

4. R. Yomtob was certainly not R. Yomtob of Joigny, as his father's name was Moses, while the Joigny Yomtob's father was Isaac. I have already withdrawn this identification in the revised edition of my genealogy of the Hagin family in the *Révue des études juives* (xviii. 259.) I there suggested that our Yomtob was identical with a Yomtob given by Zunz as an eminent legal authority in London about 1175, in his *Zur Geschichte*, p. 193. Unfortunately Zunz does not give any reference for his statement. Our pedigree informs us that Yomtob was author of a work entitled *ד' התנאים*, which combined with Zunz's statement might imply that this was an halachic work of some kind. But I forgot: Prof. Kaufmann does not like hypotheses unless they are his own.

5. R. Moses, of Bristou, the old name for Bristol, was also an Oxford Jew. He is mentioned in the following deed given by Dr. Neubauer (No. lxx.).

Carta de diversis terris et tenementis concessis Laurentio Kepeharm. . . .
 Notum sit omnibus quod ego Johannes de Eofleia et ego Helena ejus uxor
 . . . concessimus . . . Laurentio Kephram has subscriptas terras nostras in
 Oxonia et in suburbio . . . et terram que fuit Gaufridi Balby . . . et est inter
 terram que fuit Radulphi Wantir et terram Copini de Wirecestre in Judaismo
 Oxoniæ et illam terram que fuit Mossei Judei de Brist. et terram que fuit
 Deodati Judei . . . ei hee due terre sunt inter terram que fuit Sewini child
 et terram que fuit Benjamin Judei in Judaismo Oxonie. . . .

Unfortunately this deed is one of those "of uncertain date." Yet we can conjecture (if Prof. Kaufmann will allow us), that it was of the end of the twelfth century. For it refers to Benjamin of Oxford as lately dead (that is the significance of "*quæ fuit*") and we know that he died in 1184. (See my *Notes from Pipe Rolls*, Arch. Rev., ii., p. 403, No. 73, quoted by Dr. Neubauer, No. v.) As Mosse de Brist. is also referred to with "*quæ fuit*," he also must have died about that date. I may here venture to assure Prof. Kaufmann that it is unnecessary to find any mark of omission of a final letter in *ברישטון* as this is a quite adequate transliteration of Bristou, the ordinary twelfth century name of the town. Moses of Bristou was, then, an inhabitant of Oxford at the time of his death, and could not have been buried in London, as Prof. Kaufmann suggests. If I might indulge in hypothesis, he left Bristol when the conquest of Ireland in 1171 put an end to the extensive slave-trade between that Kingdom and the port of Bristol. Jews were at that time the great slave-merchants of Europe.

6. Isaac, Moses' father, does not occur in the English records, but his

brother Abraham ben Simeon occurs, if I mistake not, as Abraham fil Simonis in a deed granting him land belonging to St. Paul's of London (*Hist. Com. Rep.* ix. 68). This again is without date, but is signed by Richard, Archdeacon of Middlesex, who became Bishop of London in 1152, so it is therefore *anter.* or to that date.

7. Simeon, the father of Isaac and Abraham does not occur, indeed, in the Latin records of the time, but I am much mistaken if I cannot identify him with a German Jew found in England at this period. For in Ephraim of Bonn's martyrology it is said, "In the Month of Ellul (11 August—8 September, 1146) R. Simeon Chasid of Triers came back from England, where he had been for many years, and betook himself to Cologne to go by boat to Triers." He was martyred on the way by the Crusaders. Here we have a R. Simeon, from Germany, who had lived in England many years. Even Prof. Kaufmann, with all his horror of hypotheses, will allow that we have here the link with Germany that is needed to account for the relationship with R. Simeon the Great (the Elder). I would even go further and imagine I can identify R. Simeon as the Jewish interlocutor in a most interesting *Disputatio Judæi cum Christiano* addressed to St. Anselm, who died in England 1109, by Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster Abbey. In the introduction to this very interesting discussion, which is marked by great fairness on both sides, Crispin remarks of his Jewish friend and opponent (in *Anselmi Opera*, ed. 1744, ii. 255): "I know not where he was born, but he was educated at Mayence." This would exactly answer to R. Simeon, born at Treves, and, if my identification above is justified, connected by marriage with the family of R. Simeon the Great, who lies buried in the graveyard of Mayence. It is worth while to notice that both the father and the uncle of R. Simeon the Great were called Chasid, just like R. Simeon, of Treves: the epithet and the ascetic custom seems to have been in the family.

Not alone do we thus find a German Jew in England, but likewise an English Jew in Germany, for Vives, the English Jew, bought a house at Cologne, which afterwards came into the possession of the celebrated Jewish Minnesinger Süßkind von Trimberg (cf. *Regest. zur Gesch. der Juden in Deutschland*, Nos. 293, 353, 354). It is doubtless due to this intercourse between English and German Jews, that we find among both the curious office of Jewish Bishop, who does not seem to have existed among French Jews.

8, 9, and 10 scarcely belong to Anglo-Judaica, so I will content myself with saying that (8) R. Simeon is probably the one mentioned by Zunz (*Litt. syn. poes.*, 112), as having died in 1096 at Mayence just before the *émeute* there; that (9) R. Joseph is an additional son

of R. Simeon the Great to be added to the Isaac and Elchanan given in Zunz's genealogical table (*l.c.*, p. 111); and that finally (10) R. Simeon the Great is generally considered to be Rashi's maternal uncle, so that R. Simeon's father Isaac would be a common ancestor to the Hagin family, and to Rashi's numerous descendants, most of whom I have traced to England in the fourth generation (see *Was Sir Leon ever in London*, extract from *Jewish Chronicle*, 25th January, 1889).

Thus we have been able to identify all the English Jews mentioned in Prof. Kaufmann's interesting "find." The new information it gives us is not so much in adding to our knowledge any important figures in Anglo-Jewish annals, but rather in linking together some of those already known. It also enables us, to some extent, to distinguish between seeming homonyms. This is especially desirable, as by a curious coincidence, the early celebrities of the English Jewry seem to run in couples. Thus there are two Yomtobs, Yomtob b. Isaac of Joigny, and Yomtob b. Moses of Bristol; there are two Moses, Moses b. Yomtob, and Moses b. Isaac, and even two Moses ben Isaac, one b. Simeon of *our* family, and the other ben Hanassiah, the author of the *Onyx Book*. Curiously enough, the two greatest financiers of the epoch were both Aarons, Aaron of Lincoln in the twelfth century, and Aaron of York in the thirteenth. Amid this confusing perplexity, a definite pedigree gives useful criteria for distinguishing between conflicting hypotheses.

Prof. Kaufmann, in his joy at the discovery he has made, has said some rather severe things about the use of hypothesis in historical investigations. All sciences use hypothesis, and history if it is to be a science, must use them too. Indeed, what we call history is mainly hypotheses of the historian put forth to give life and colour to the dry-as-dust details, to which Prof. Kaufmann would alone give the name of history. By all means let us have facts out of which to make hypotheses, and then more facts to check and correct hypotheses. But when we come to the end of our facts, we are obliged to use hypotheses to connect and interpret them; the difference between the good and the bad historian is not that the one puts down facts, while the other puts down hypotheses, but rather that the good historian propounds fertile hypotheses leading to fresh indications of facts while the bad historian produces only bad and infertile hypotheses. I feel sure Prof. Kaufmann is too good an historian to confine himself only to facts.

JOSEPH JACOBS.